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The "Reconciliation" however is not yet over. The following morning an *arba* (Caucasian two-wheeled wagon) drawn by two oxen goes through the village and every family before whose house the *arba* halts is obliged to donate a chicken. In the evening a cartload of chickens arrives, destined for a special "Reconciliation" feast exclusively for women, on which occasion the groom by accepting some beer from his mother is finally "reconciled" also with her.

True, the "Reconciliation" may be over, but the marriage ceremonies are not. Two days later there is more feasting, more drinking, and the so-called *shinak-gagerōs* (i. e., "the twirling of a wooden cup with a long handle") take place. The one toward whom the cuphandle points on stopping after having been twirled must drink its contents. The young people who take part in this drink-feast do not leave the groom's home till there is no more beer left to refill the cup. The old folks have their turn in the celebration in the evening, when the young are obliged to serve the old. One of the main features on the programme is the obligation of all the "old-timers" to take a turn at dancing, ending with a dance of the host and hostess, who, however, have the privilege of exemption from dancing if they drink a cup of beer instead. On this occasion the Kabardian minnesingers called *geguako* are especially welcome. They travel from village to village, playing on their two-stringed instruments, singing and composing beautiful lyrics[20] as the German minnesingers and the French and Italian troubadours once used to do. To each well-wishing of the *geguako* the guests answer with a joyful "Amen!," confirming their "So be it!" with a sip of beer.[21]

The ceremony of thrice walking around the hearth constitutes an important part of the Cherkess wedding just as in Abkhazia.[22]

The official marriage contract is made by representatives of the bride and groom in the presence of the local mullah. Holding both representatives by the hand, he first asks the representative of the bride: "Do you take A as husband for B?" The answer is a simple "Yes!" He then asks the representative of the groom: "Do you take B as wife for A?" "Yes!" This interrogation is repeated a second and a third time. The mullah then recites a prayer and all present, raising their hands heavenward, answer "Amen!"[23]

The expenses entailed in such an elaborate wedding would often bring complete economic ruin to the family, much the same as Caucasian funerals. Ladyženskij implies, however, that such expensive weddings are a thing of the past.[24]

The NORTHEASTERN CAUCASIANS. As our example of a Chechen marriage we have chosen that of the Ingushi, for this group of Chechens has preserved much more of their ancient culture than any other. In so doing, however, we must make allowance for tribal differences.

[20] Hahn, *op. cit.*, pp. 46—49, from whom we have also taken the description of the "Reconciliation." Hahn gives us a few examples of these lyrics, *op. cit.*, pp. 49 ff.

[21] Hahn, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

[22] Dirr, AGKB, p. 25.

[23] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 199.

[24] Ladyženskij, FT, p. 208. See also Dubrovin, *Istorija* for a fairly good description of a Cherkess wedding, I, i, pp. 142 ff, 147 f.

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to the general rule. This village is inhabited by a degraded Avarian tribe or, as Baddeley suggests, "perhaps the remnant of an older race absorbed by the latter."[81] But even here, among this "degraded" Avarian tribe, the girl "might only be touched from waist upwards; in Shamyl's time a too-ardent lover was stabbed to death, for a breach of this adat, by his own beloved, and the deed was not only not punished but even greatly applauded."[82]

There are also similar conflicting reports regarding the neighbouring mountain tribes of Georgia. Klaproth, for instance, speaking of the Tushi, says, "Le commerce illicite entre les deux sexes est très rare chez eux..."[83] Klaproth's claim is in full accord with the severe penalties for fornication as described by Baddeley: "If a girl was unchaste, she was set upon a donkey, face to tail, and carried through the 'aoul', spat upon and jeered at." He goes on to say that "if a girl had a child, she was driven out of the community and the child killed, unless some charitable person took pity on it. A young man could not marry a girl once seduced by another man, but an old man or widower might."[84] Other reports, however, maintain the very contrary and say that the mountain tribes of Georgia are extremely lax. A few distinctions will, I believe, clarify these contradictions. The Khevsurs[85] and the Pshavs[86] have an institution called *tsatsali*, that is, "brother" or "sister" but actually legal lovers. It is only freedom with non-*tsatsalis* and pregnancy that seems to have been discountenanced by these tribes. As long as the girl restricted her relations to her *tsatsali* and avoided pregnancy she was "chaste." One of the main reasons for the relatively late marriage age among the mountain tribes of Georgia (*supra*, p. 67) is this institution.[87]

4. Relation of Penalties for Sexual Offenses to the Economic and Social Organization of the Caucasian Mountaineers

All that we have said about the severity of the penal laws of the North Caucasians is in perfect harmony with their general economic and social organization. It is a known fact that lower hunters discountenance sexual liberty more than the higher hunters; the lower agrarians more than the higher; the pastoralists more than the agrarians; the father-right family more than the mother-right.[88] Our North Caucasians have a strongly pastoral and father-right organization.

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[81] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, II, p. 13.

[82] *ibid.* Baddeley's source is Komarov's article "Adaty i sudoproizvodstvo po nim," SSKG, I, p. 57. Dubrovin, *Istorija*, I, i, p. 564 has the incident too, but he fails to mention his source.

[83] Klaproth, *Voyage au Mont Caucase et en Géorgie*, II, p. 72.

[84] Baddeley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 237.

[85] Kovalevskij, "La famille matriarcale au Caucase," *L'Anthropologie*, IV (1893), p. 273.

[86] Makalatija, "Iz starogo narodnogo byta Pšavov," SE, 1938, No. 1, p. 98.

[87] Since the *tsatsali* in Pshavia are always chosen from among relatives and marriage is possible only between non-relatives, marriage would mean that the two would have to separate and love another person, a fact that makes them reluctant to marry. In fact, they sometimes do not marry at all. For a detailed exposition of the institution, see Makalatija, *op. cit.*, pp. 98—102.

[88] H. Günther, *Formen und Urgeschichte der Ehe*, p. 90.